

What Militant Said About Munich Pact

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THE MILITANT

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Militant Anniversary Fund 3-Week Progress Report

By George Lavan
National Fund Drive Director

Groups of Militant supporters throughout the country responded to the Sept. 15 launching of the Militant 30th Anniversary Fund Drive by pledging to raise specific amounts of money by Dec. 15. (These appear on the scoreboard at the end of this article). How do they intend to raise these substantial sums? First by pooling the personal donations they have decided to make, supplementing this by getting other Militant readers in their areas to help and by planning meetings and affairs to benefit this fighting socialist paper on its 30th birthday. One of the aims of this column will be to announce and report the holding of these affairs.

As our steam pressure gauge shows, money has not only been pledged but has started to come in. At the moment of this writing \$2,875.46, or 16% of the \$18,000 goal, has been received. Heading the percentage list are St. Louis, Newark, Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Diego and Chicago. These fast starters are ahead of schedule calculating the payments of the pledged sums on a weekly basis (those who may have had some experience with the installment plan will understand what is meant).

In a good-news contest it would be hard to beat the letter which said: "As you know we here in San Diego are in the process of formation. We feel that the quota of \$300 that we have adopted as our contribution to the fund is an important step in this direction. Enclosed is a money order for \$115 as our first payment." Welcome and thanks, San Diegans!

When St. Louis made its pledge, the local fund director wrote that despite "layoffs and unemployment here it was de-

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Subway Motormen in N.Y. Vote Unity with Quill Union

By Harold Wilson

Members of the Motormen's Benevolent Association, the union of New York subway motormen, voted to merge with the Transport Workers Union (AFL-CIO). The mail vote, tallied on Sept. 20, shows 1,239 in favor of unity and 278 against. About 2,300 motormen were eligible to vote. The motormen will form a special division within the TWU with its own officers, bylaws and organizers. They will bargain directly with the Transit Authority, which operates the city-owned subways.

The MBA vote reunites the subway workers following the legitimate struggle waged by the motormen against TWU chief Michael Quill, which led to split.

The dispute started in 1955 when Quill won exclusive bargaining power for all subway workers. He then signed a contract that gave almost no gains to the transit workers and actually worsened conditions for some categories, particularly the motormen. When it proved impossible to buck the Quill machine and remove the inequities through the TWU, the motormen formed the MBA to bargain with the Transit Authority.

The TWU heads and the Authority joined in a campaign of intimidation and harassment of MBA members for over a year. On Dec. 9, the MBA struck to force recognition.

GOVT. STRIKEBREAKING
The city and state administrations then joined the Transit Authority in attempting to break the strike. Four MBA leaders were jailed, the union's headquarters were "bugged" with police microphones, and the motormen were denounced

in hysterical terms in the big business press. Despite the pressure, MBA leaders and membership stood firm. They won the sympathy of their fellow subway workers and, indeed, of most working people in New York, for their courage in fighting bureaucratic union officials and arrogant politicians on the Transit Authority.

However, the motormen were finally forced back to work. Many of them, including the principal leaders, faced Transit Authority trials and dismissal. However, their militancy and sympathy for them in labor's ranks forced George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, to intervene. As a result, the present arrangement was worked out, which protects the interests of the motormen while restoring an industrial union structure in the subways.

The vote for merger is the outcome of negotiations with Meany. Under the merger terms, Meany will serve as arbitrator of any dispute between the motormen's division and the Quill machine. The motormen also have the right of appeal to a special "labor harmony" committee set up by Mayor Wagner.

On Oct. 5, the New York Times announced that 13 motormen threatened with penalties for leading last December's strike will be cleared in an agreement reached between the MBA and the Transit Authority. They will draw a 10-day disciplinary layoff on a single specification, but the penalty will be suspended for a year, then wiped off the books. The rest of the 1,200 striking motormen will be reprimanded, but this will not count on their record.

Faubus Role Incited Racist Dynamiting

By John Thayer

Governor Faubus' continued and unpunished defiance of the Supreme Court's school desegregation ruling is the direct inspiration of the outbreak of such acts of racist violence as the Dec. 5 destruction by dynamite of the integrated High School in Clinton, Tennessee.

Public High School integration has been in existence in Clinton for two years. The white-supremacists, who tried to prevent that integration in Sept. 1955, were defeated by state and federal court action. But Faubus' example of defiance with impunity of school desegregation has reawakened the defeated Clinton racists. The dynamite blasts announced this reawakening. This is but a sample of the white-supremacist violence that will come throughout the South unless and until Faubus and other segregationist officials are brought to justice.

VIOLENCE AGAINST BATES' HOME
Ominous acts of Faubus-inspired anti-Negro violence are taking place in Little Rock itself. Attacks on the home of Mrs. Daisy Bates, the Arkansas leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, continue.

Rocks and bullets have been sent through the windows of Mrs. Bates' home from cars driven past by racists at high speed. One brick hurled through the window had a note attached threatening, "This time a rock, next time dynamite." Later a bullet smashed through the window. Her demands for police protection have been ignored by Little Rock police. Finally at 3 o'clock in the morning of Oct. 1 the fourth attack of the week occurred. Mr. and Mrs. Bates fired five or more shots at their attackers but with no apparent effect. Three crosses also have been burned on the Bates' lawn.

Attorneys for the NAACP have succeeded in having the federal courts forbid the "leasing" of the Little Rock high schools to Faubus' phony "private" school corporation. While this prevents operating these schools on a segregated basis, it does not prevent Faubus from keeping them closed. On Oct. 6 the U.S. Circuit Court in St. Louis extended for a week the Sept. 29 restraining order against the phony "leasing" of the closed schools. There is every prospect that when the matter again comes before the court on Oct. 15, it will make the injunction permanent.

The Eisenhower administration has confined itself to having the Department of Justice

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To Prevent School Integration



Last year racists blew up this Nashville, Tenn. grammar school when a Negro student was enrolled there. On Oct. 5, this year, three bombs were exploded in the Clinton, Tenn. high school which has operated on an integrated basis for two years.

Independent-Socialists Hold Spirited N. Y. Rally

NEW YORK, Oct. 7 — The need for socialist solutions for America was the central theme of an enthusiastic rally of the Independent-Socialist Party here tonight. Four hundred persons filled the Fraternal Clubhouse auditorium to hear the Independent-Socialist candidates and guest speakers James Aronson, editor of the National Guardian, and Myra Tanner Weiss, 1956 Vice Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. The rally was hailed by Senatorial candidate Corliss Lamont as representing "a new beginning of the independent-socialist movement in the United States."

Expressing indignation at the recent dynamiting of Clinton High School by racists, Lamont read the text of a telegram he had sent to President Eisenhower demanding that the federal government take over and operate all Southern schools closed down by racist officials. Scoring the Administration's failure to take effective action in the South, the Independent-Socialist nominee said amidst applause: "Let me tell you this — if there was a socialist government in power in the United States, this situation would not last one more day. We would talk and we would act! Eisenhower can't even talk."

QUIT FORMOSA!
In a sharp attack on the stand of the Republicans and Democrats on the Far East crisis, Lamont pointed to the many letters published by the New York Times critical of U.S. intervention at Quemoy and Matsu. But, he declared, "all of these letters assume the United States will keep Formosa as well as Quemoy!"

Reiterating the Independent-Socialist demand for an end to the "dastardly cold war," Lamont detailed how the present astronomical arms budget could be allocated for a program of social and public services. While pressing for such demands, he added, "we must also keep in mind that while reforms can result in major improvements, it's socialism that gets at the



JOHN T. McMANUS

root of things. A planned, democratic, socialist economy can bring peace and freedom." "Join us in a great crusade," he urged the rally, "a crusade to build a major new party so that in our lifetime we will have a socialist President and a socialist Congress in the United States of America!"

A legal victory in the fight to prevent "Governor Harriman and his chief ward-heeler, Carmine De Sapio," from ruling the Independent-Socialists off the ballot was reported to the rally by John T. McManus, candidate for Governor.

LEGAL BATTLE
Although the Independent-Socialists had filed 27,000 nominating petitions as against 12,000 required, three members of the state law committee of the Democratic party had challenged their validity. Outcome of the challenge hinges on 27 disputed signatures. Anticipating a Tammany challenge, the Independent-Socialists secured a court order directing De Sapio,

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Auto Workers Strike GM After Contract

122 Plants Closed by Disputes Over Speedup and Local Demands

OCT. 8 — The vast majority of General Motors auto workers are still on strike a week after the signing of a nationwide contract agreement between top officials of the United Auto Workers Union and the corporation. Only four of GM's 126 plants — or some 10,000 hourly-paid workers out of 300,000 — were operating yesterday. The rest remained closed by strikes over local demands.

Similar strikes still idled about 8,000 Chrysler workers today. All Ford plants are now reportedly operating as negotiations on local issues continue. Ford was also hit with widespread local strikes for two weeks after the "pattern-setting" agreement was signed with that corporation last month.

So far, top UAW officials have reportedly not put pressure on GM locals to rush local agreements. But the UAW International Executive Board has threatened strikers at two Chrysler plants with disciplinary action if they don't return to work immediately. These units, a Plymouth assembly plant in Newark, Delaware and a stamping plant in Twinsburg, Ohio, were struck after the company fired union members.

SAME AS FORD, CHRYSLER
The GM agreement, signed after a 12-hour strike called by the international union on Oct. 2, is virtually the same as the Ford and Chrysler settlements. The total cost to the corporations of these agreements has been estimated at between nothing and five cents an hour over what was provided for in the previous contracts.

The GM agreement calls for an additional one-half cent per hour for a fund to eliminate certain wage differentials. (GM has been paying less than Ford and Chrysler for certain identical jobs.)

Unemployment Drags On

Despite the increase in industrial output the number of workers who have been jobless for six months or more continues to rise according to figures released by the Federal Reserve Board of New York. In August the number of long-term unemployed was double the highest level reached in the recessions of 1949 and 1954. Increased productivity is at the root of much unemployment. The normal 3 or 4% increase in productivity has shot up to an estimated 10 or 12% as management has installed more and more labor saving machinery. Increased competition due to the recession has caused businessmen to intensify their cost-cutting drive and squeeze more workers off the pay-rolls.

The widespread local strikes following the national agreements, as well as the many "unauthorized" strikes prior to them, point up the fact that the pressing problems facing the auto workers were hardly touched by the terms of the proposed contracts. For several years now, speed-up and technological unemployment — not to mention the recession — have been causing serious deterioration of the working conditions and job security of the auto workers. The UAW lead-

ers abandoned the fight for a shorter work week with no reduction in pay and completely failed to organize a co-ordinated fight against speed-up or to make it an issue in the national contract talks.

So now the workers, faced with another three years under virtually the same old national contract, are trying to clear up the grievances which have accumulated and get what they can on a local level. A typical example of what is involved in these local disputes was the strike of 2800 members of UAW Local 897 at the Ford stamping plant in Woodlawn, New York. They walked out demanding settlement of 500 unresolved grievances — involving speed-up, overtime, safety, etc. Some of these grievances dated back to 1956.

The Ford, Chrysler and GM agreements have yet to be ratified by membership vote. The deadline for the GM vote is October 20. Most observers predict the rank-and-file will accept the contracts, but there is evidence of resistance. The UAW tops have felt it necessary to call the union's national GM council into special session Oct. 10 to discuss the contract and "recommend appropriate action to the local unions." In Michigan, an area-wide committee of the Detroit-Wayne County Tool and Die Council, composed of representatives of skilled-trades units from UAW locals, has recommended that skilled workers reject the contracts.

China Slammed The 'Open Door' Shut

By Gordon Bailey

Criticism leveled by a number of prominent Democrats against the Eisenhower Administration's decision to defend Quemoy expresses a narrow difference of opinion over Far East policy. Indeed, at Secretary of State Dulles' press conference, Sept. 30, the difference narrowed further. Dulles signaled what has been interpreted as a shift in policy over the offshore islands, pointing to a possible pullout from the Quemoy and the Matus.

Whether to fight over the offshore islands now is a tactical consideration for both Democrats and Republicans. Their long-term strategy envisages war against the People's Republic of China, its overthrow and the reopening of the mainland to capitalist exploitation. The U.S. capitalist class, whose interests both Republicans and Democrats serve, has not reconciled itself to the revolution that ended the rule of foreign capital over China.

For more than 100 years, American businessmen roamed about China, corrupting and dominating weak central governments and local warlords and exploiting the country. The century of foreign exploitation of China ended in 1949 when the Chinese people threw out Chiang Kai-shek.

China was originally opened to trade with the West by violence. Warships of the Western powers battered down the walls of Chinese cities and wrested concessions, territories and economic privileges at gun point. Most infamous of the wars to open the markets of China to the West were the Opium Wars of 1839 and 1847. When the Chinese government attempted to halt the importation of the drug, carried in British ships



MAO TSE-TUNG

from India, English armed forces marched on Nanking and other major Chinese cities and rendered the Chinese government powerless. Each of the wars lasted only a few days as superior Western technology mowed down the bows and arrows of the Chinese. The Chinese were forced to submit and to legalize the importation of opium. More important, the Chinese were forced to yield trading concessions, territorial rights, and some control of China's tariff and customs system. This episode of mailed fist diplomacy set the pattern for relations between China and the major capitalist powers for over a century.

Because it was the latest predatory power on the scene and the richest, the United States was able to pursue its economic objectives in China while appearing to oppose the more crass imperialist tactics of the European countries and

of Japan. Actually, while posing as the defender of China's independence and territorial integrity, the U.S. government has worked hand in hand with the arch-imperialist of the 19th Century, Great Britain.

In the Opium Wars the U.S. piously condemned the drug business, since this was a minor part of American merchants' trade with China. But this highly moral stand did not prevent American envoys from joining Great Britain in signing treaties with China legalizing opium imports.

The same treaties granted Americans special trading concessions in five seaports, permitting U.S. gunboats to sail Chinese rivers and harbors, and granted U.S. citizens the right of extraterritoriality. That is, American citizens in China were not to be subject to Chinese courts of law, but could be tried in American courts set up on Chinese soil.

About the same time the U.S. gained Chinese adherence to the "most favored nation" clause. This was a stipulation that any privilege granted to one foreign power, however onerous to the Chinese people, would be granted to all foreign powers. Under this clause American businessmen could enjoy the special privileges wrested by the government of another country without bearing the onus for having forced it. Also, as a latecomer to the Chinese feast, the U.S. was able to ensure that it would not be done out of its share.

By the end of the 19th Century, however, the Great Powers were getting more and more rapacious, and there was danger that China would be carved up into colonies as Africa had been. Both Britain and America

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Advertisement

New Yorkers New Yorkers

The Militant Labor Forum

Opens Celebration of the 30th Anniversary of

THE MILITANT

With a Gala Dinner

Special Feature:

Farrell Dobbs

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party reports on the class struggle in Europe today. He recently toured Europe as Militant special correspondent.

Saturday, October 18 116 University Place

Dinner 7 P.M. — Program 8 P.M. At 13th Street

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Guardian Editor Urges Socialists To Press Fight

(The Oct. 7 campaign rally of the Independent-Socialist Party in New York coincided with the 10th anniversary of the founding of the National Guardian. In the opening



JAMES ARONSON

remarks of his address to the rally, James Aronson, Guardian editor and co-founder, described the contents of the paper's first issue and its theme of social protest. The following is the text of the balance of his speech. —Ed.)

Essentially what they [the writers in the first issue of the Guardian] said was that there was a terrible need for change; that every thinking human being could feel only disgust and horror at the killing of people in wars, at the corruption of politics and culture under a system of predatory capitalism. That apathy and silence was a crumb of men's souls — there must be a change to something new and clean and decent.

One might even dare say that the change should be to a system under which the production of man's worldly goods should be for use and not for profit, and that the producers of these goods should own the means of production. One might even dare use the word socialism.

Ten hard years later, we have witnessed and fought through a time which has brought us perilously close to extinction, a time of hatred and hunting, of small dirty wars and plans for bigger and dirtier ones. A time of events and disclosures in socialist lands which have produced doubts and confusion in the minds of many; and a time of progress and advance in these same lands which have confirmed the faith of many others in the validity of socialism, if it also brought confirmation of the frailty of human beings, and the utter truth that no man is or should be treated as a god.

A TIME FOR CHANGE

If ever the times cried out for protest and change it is now. Yet in such a time we have witnessed a decline in protest and initiative on the American left. We are told to wait. Some say it is a time for study and learning and re-thinking. It is always a time for that. But, if we sincerely believe what we study and learn and are re-thinking, can we not share it with others? And should we not try to apply what we have learned?

Some say that the American people are not ready for socialism. They say, therefore, that it is senseless to talk about socialist solutions to a people who don't understand what you are talking about. They defend mightily the right of the people of Eastern Europe and Asia to be socialists and to propagate socialism, but in our own coun-

try they call the propagators of socialist ideas utopians, and, in some cases, claim the right to give the signal to go ahead. I don't think there is anyone in this hall tonight who would dispute the lack of readiness on the part of America to accept socialism. But I think also that there are few here who anticipated anything but a long, hard, patient, yet rewarding, effort to persuade people to the wisdom of a socialist system.

Are we to wait until a George Meany comes puffing up waving a fat black cigar and yelling: "OK on socialism." I think if that happened I might be scared enough by the apparition to go out and vote the straight Republican ticket.

THE CONTINUING BELIEF

Ten years after the fact of the Guardian, born in a time of hope of independent political action, I am proud to associate myself with this group of men and women on this platform who represent the continuing belief of thousands upon thousands in the need for an alternative for our country. I am grateful that they have undertaken the hard job of leading the movement. I am doubly grateful that they have the maturity and the wisdom to put aside differences in the interests of a common good and a common goal.

Because, when you come right down to it, when you get past the pettiness and the suspicion, the hair-splitting, bickering and the cynicism, the basic question is: "Which side are you on?"

Wright, Weston Rout Scab-Law Proponent at Seattle Debate

By Frank Krasnowsky

SEATTLE, Oct. 3 — Over 125 people here tonight heard E. M. Weston, President of the Washington State Labor Council, and Jack Wright, veteran socialist trade unionist and candidate of the United Liberals and Socialists for State Senator, 37th District, oppose Washington's "Right-to-Work" Initiative No. 202. They debated Stuart Oles, attorney and member of "Minutemen for Freedom and No. 202." The debate, sponsored by the American Forum for Socialist Education, was held in the Marine Firemen's Union Hall, and was moderated by Dr. Jay W. Friedman, Seattle chairman of the AFSE.

The "Minutemen for Freedom" is an employer-sponsored organization created for the purpose of selling Initiative 202 as a pro-labor measure. Besides trying to con workers into thinking that "right-to-work" laws will help rank-and-file unionists win union democracy, the "Minutemen" seek to prove through phony statistics that such laws actually result in larger unions and higher wages.

DOWN WITH 202 AND T-H TOO

Weston and Wright exposed the Initiative for what it is — a union-busting law. Wright stressed the need to stop "not only 202, but Taft-Hartley too." He showed how the Taft-Hartley law was the parent of all subsequent union-busting legislation and urged that the fight against Initiative 202 be connected with an intensified struggle for T-H's repeal. He also explained the role of the Smith Act in creating the hysteria necessary for passage of Taft-Hartley.

Calif. Socialists Fight 'Right-to-Work' Bill

Socialists of various tendencies in California have grouped together to form a "United Socialist Committee Against Proposition No. 18," the so-called Right-to-Work initiative, in the November elections.

Vincent Hallinan, former Progressive Party presidential candidate is state chairman. Leo Gallagher, veteran Los Angeles labor lawyer, and Dr. Harry C. Steinmetz, San Diego professor of psychology, are vice-chairmen. Reuben Borough, former Epic News editor and veteran progressive, is state secretary. Many other prominent socialists and progressives throughout the state are supporting the committee, which will distribute thousands of leaflets and sponsor public meetings against Proposition No. 18.

The committee in its leaflet describes Proposition No. 18 as a fraud against the voters. The measure's hidden purpose is the destruction of the trade-union movement, the lowering of wages and standards of living, and the wiping out of working conditions won by the workers in bitter struggles. The committee calls upon socialists to work vigorously in defense of the trade unions by turning out the vote against Proposition No. 18.

For further information write to A. J. Lewis, 1559 Alhavo Way, Los Angeles 26, Calif.

Calling attention to local bills advocating 202 which show a "Minute Man" with a musket ready to battle "union corruption," Wright condemned this identification of America's revolutionary struggle against tyranny with the open-shop drive. He also labeled this advertising an incitement to anti-labor violence. "Those who have been through hard-fought strikes know what that musket means," he said. Weston elaborated on the point. He proved, by citing the words of 202's sponsors, that one of their prime objectives is promotion of violence against working people and against labor.

Again, Wright showed up 202 as an attack on the political rights of the labor movement. He called upon labor to counter this attack by creating its own independent political organization.

Many other points were scored against 202 by trade-unionists, socialist and non-socialist, in an hour-long discussion from the floor. Mr. Oles' statistics did not stand up well under fire. Members of various unions made it clear that there was no connection between closed-shop agreements and labor dictatorship, that Initiative 202 and other right-to-scab laws had no provision that would help the fight for union de-

mocracy, and that, on the contrary, these laws actually would strengthen the worst labor bureaucrats or destroy the unions.

SOLIDARITY

As worker after worker took the floor to condemn 202 and refute lawyer Oles' arguments, a feeling of solidarity and a fighting spirit filled the hall. Weston responded by speaking with a militancy not previously displayed on local TV debates and public meetings where he has appeared. He seized upon several points put forward by Wright or by speakers from the floor and elaborated on them.

Oles exhibited increasing discomfort as the evening wore on. At 10:30, with the discussion still going strong, he informed the chairman he had to leave. The meeting was therefore adjourned after summaries, but few people left. Most continued the discussion in informal groups all over the hall.

The successful meeting proved highly satisfactory to everyone present involved in fighting Initiative 202. This included trade-union officials and members, the American Forum for Socialist Education, the United Liberals and Socialists, and the audience in general.

The appearance for the first time in many years of a leading labor official and a leading socialist trade unionist on the same platform proved to be an inspiration to everyone in the hall (except a small group of contemptuous but silent 202ers). It is just this kind of cooperation between the labor and socialist movements that can turn the tide of reaction and allow the working people to forge ahead.

SWP Spokesman Hits Anti-Soviet Drive by U.S.

(The following are excerpts from a speech by Myra Tanner Weiss, 1956 Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, at the Oct. 7 election rally of the Independent-Socialist Party. —Ed.)

Before the wounds of World War II had closed, before the dead had been buried, before the rubble of cities had been cleared away, the drive toward a new and more terrible conflict began. In 1945, over a Japanese city, a mushroom cloud rose high in the sky, barring the rays of the sun from the human agony that writhed below. And with that cloud, and with the screams of the dying, rose a new question in history: Not what kind of future for man. But is there to be a future at all?

The Democratic and Republican parties have thrown billions upon billions of dollars into the construction of a vast new war machine. . . . They say this drive toward war, this drive toward annihilation, is necessary to stop "communism." They say they are fighting for a "free world" and to liberate the people of the Soviet orbit from dictatorship.

They lie. Does freedom quicken the pulse of imperialists who not only tolerate but subsidize such tyrants as Franco of Spain? Or Trujillo? Or Batista? Or slave-owners like Saud of Saudi Arabia? Or monarchs like King Hussein? Or exiled dictators like Chiang-Kai-shek? . . .

WHAT THE MAP SHOWS

They say they have to defend America against "Soviet aggression." This, too, is a lie. One has but to glance at the military map or list the military moves since World War II to see the truth.

U.S. militarists have completely surrounded the Soviet Union with military bases. They have built airfields loaded with planes stocked with atom



MYRA TANNER WEISS

bombs within easy flying range of Soviet cities.

The imperialists hope someday to restore capitalism to the Soviet orbit. They are driven by the inexorable laws of the profit system to expand, and exploit all peoples of the earth.

The U.S. State department is alarmed that the Soviet Union is winning the so-called "propaganda war" for peace. And it is. But this is no accident. The Soviet Union wants peace. Because of the planned economy, won in the great revolution of 1917, the Soviet Union is not driven to expand. It doesn't need either war or a war economy to sustain and develop production at home.

The workers of the Soviet Union have built the foundations for the eventual development of a socialist society. They, together with workers everywhere, will complete the struggle begun in 1917 for a socialist world.

... Indep.-Socialist Rally

(Continued from Page 1)

in his capacity as Secretary of State, to certify the petitions or show cause why he should not do so.

Last week, De Sapio sought to have this court order vacated on grounds of improper service. But the Supreme Court refused to accept his claim and so if the petition ruling is unfavorable it will automatically be in court for review.

Charging that Harriman and De Sapio were trying to rule out the Independent-Socialists "to keep peace, rights, jobs and social change off the ballot," McManus cited the record to demonstrate that neither major party was taking any effective action to cope with the continuing acute unemployment in New York.

The Independent-Socialist program for a shorter work week with no reduction in pay, he said, is the only meaningful answer for the jobless. Criticizing the union officials "who seek to lead the ranks into the swamp of Democratic politics," he pointed out that "it is not insignificant that the contracts just negotiated by Walter Reuther shelved the shorter work week."

DISCUSSION AND UNITY

McManus expressed gratification at the high degree of unity that had been achieved in the Independent-Socialist electoral coalition despite differing views on certain programmatic issues. "We have our differences and we argue them out," he said, "but the big thing is that we're having these discussions within our ranks and not throwing polemics at each other from across a wide gulf."

This view was echoed by Babette Jones, member of the Independent-Socialist campaign committee, who chaired the rally. One of the most inspiring features of the campaign, she



DR. ANNETTE RUBINSTEIN

said, is that "socialists of all schools of thought are learning to know and respect each other, and are working together to build a new ballot voice in our state."

The audience expressed agreement by contributing more than \$300 in the collection toward financing the campaign.

The spirit of militancy and optimism at the rally was quietly but effectively expressed by Captain Hugh Mulzac, candidate for Comptroller, who declared, "The Independent-Socialist Party will be reckoned with across the nation. Its voice will be heard and the war parties will have to listen."

Dr. Annette Rubinstein, candidate for Lt. Governor, firmly declared that the Independent-Socialists would not follow the example of "some misguided radicals who are taking the position, 'If you can't lick 'em, join 'em.'"

Pointing out that all progressive movements invariably be-

gan as minorities facing seemingly impossible odds, Dr. Rubinstein concluded, "We're building for the future. We're going to build a socialist party in the United States and those who come after us will think we were mad to have tried it."

The deep-going opposition of those at the rally to the U.S.-sparked cold war against the Soviet Union was evident in the applause extended to Myra Tanner Weiss. She hit American foreign policy as an imperialist perspective of war for capitalist restoration in the Soviet orbit. (See excerpts this page.)

ABRAMS MESSAGE

A message was read to the rally from Henry Abrams, Chairman of the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee, who was unable to attend because of illness. He assailed the Tammany plot to keep the ticket off the ballot and hit at the disqualification of the nominating petitions of David McReynolds, Socialist Party candidate for Congress, and Communist Party leader Benjamin Davis, candidate for the State Senate. He urged support by these victimized groups to the Independent-Socialist fight for its ballot rights.

James Aronson, co-founder with John T. McManus and Cedric Belfrage of the National Guardian, which celebrates its tenth anniversary this week, described that paper's persistent stand for independent-political action. Declaring his solidarity with the Independent-Socialists (See excerpts this page), he presented the case for building the new movement on a clear-cut socialist basis.

The reception to all the speeches gave indication that the campaign will come to a strong climax at the final rally already slated for Thursday, Oct. 30, at the Palm Gardens Ballroom, 306 W. 52nd Street.

N.Y. Socialist Candidates On Radio, TV

Here is the schedule of radio and TV appearances of New York's Independent-Socialist candidates as arranged thus far.

SEE, HEAR

CORLISS LAMONT
Wed., Oct. 15, 11:15 P.M. Tex and Jinx Show, WOR-Radio, 710 kc.

Sat., Oct. 18, 1:30-2:30 P.M.
Lamont and opposing senatorial candidates interviewed by League of Women Voters; "Meet Your Candidates," WCBS-TV, Channel 2.

Oct. 19-20-21-22-24, 9:35-10 P.M.
Statements by Lamont vs. other senatorial candidates. "People's Choice" program, WNEW-Radio, 1130 kc.

SEE, HEAR

JOHN T. McMANUS
Sun., Oct. 19, 5-5:30 P.M. Interview, WOR-Radio, 710 kc.

Sat., Oct. 25, 1:30-2:30 P.M.
McManus and opposing gubernatorial candidates, interviewed by the League of Women Voters; "Meet Your Candidates," WCBS-TV, Channel 2.

Sun., Oct. 26, 12:30-1:00 P.M.
Interview, "Between the Lines," WNEW-TV, Channel 5.

Oct. 26-27-28-30 and Nov. 2, 9:35 to 10 P.M.
Statements by McManus vs. other gubernatorial candidates. "People's Choice" program; WNEW-Radio, 1130 kc.

SEE, HEAR

SCOTT K. GRAY JR.
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'I Sailed with Captain Mulzac'

BROOKLYN, Oct. 3—The campaign of the Kings County Independent-Socialist Party got off to a wonderful start tonight with an outdoor rally in the Bedford-Stuyvesant district. The highlight of the rally was completely unscheduled. A worker from the neighborhood asked if he could speak briefly as someone who knew Captain Mulzac well. He told the audience he had been a member of the integrated crew of the war-time liberty ship, the Booker T. Washington, which Captain Mulzac had commanded as the first Negro skipper in the U.S. Merchant Marine. "Thanks to Captain Mulzac," he said, "as a Negro I could walk that ship like a human being. Could you expect that from either Rockefeller or Harriman?"

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Monday, October 13, 1958

De Gaulle Wins by Default

Sick of the miseries inflicted upon it, the French people, on Sept. 28, buried the Fourth Republic under a 4 to 1 landslide vote in favor of Gen. De Gaulle's strong-man regime. De Gaulle won by default. The socialist alternative to colonial wars, inflation and low wages — the lot of the French masses under De Gaulle as under the despised Fourth Republic — was not presented. The French Communist Party, the mass party of the French workers, went down to defeat with the Fourth Republic, whose principal architect it was in 1945.

To understand why De Gaulle won this victory is to understand the history of the Fourth Republic. In September 1944, the Nazi armies were routed in France. The French Resistance (FFI) together with a million workers took over Paris before the allied forces arrived. The workers seized control of the factories from an impotent capitalist class, most of whose members had tied their fortune to the Nazis and now stood exposed to the wrath of the workers both as exploiters and Fascist collaborators.

The Communist Party was the principal political force among the French workers, just as the workers were the decisive force in the triumphant Resistance movement. The workers had arms, organization and support of the middle classes. Had the Communist Party given revolutionary leadership in the situation, it could have transformed France from a capitalist state to a workers' state.

Instead, the CP leaders, carrying through Stalin's agreement with Roosevelt and Churchill to help maintain the status quo in Western Europe, proceeded to still the fears of the French capitalist class. Thus Benoit Frachon, Secretary of the General Federation of Labor and a CP spokesman, denied in a Sept. 30,

1944 interview with the United Press, that the party intended to "take advantage of the situation and Sovietize or socialize enterprises." He pledged that the CP would support de Gaulle as head of the French government until elections the following year. In 1945, the CP leaders framed the constitution whose adoption by referendum gave birth to the Fourth Republic.

In the October 1945 elections under the new constitution, the CP received the largest vote. The Socialist Party ran second. The mandate was clear: the workers wanted their parties to take power. Instead, a coalition government with liberal capitalists was created.

Then in 1947, as the cold war hit France, a coalition of the Socialist Party and various capitalist parties was formed in dependence on American financial aid. The CP was pushed out of the government. From then until 1957, France experienced one cabinet crisis after the other which brought the French Republic into general disrepute.

At no time after they were pushed out of the government did the French CP leaders orient toward socialism. Their politics swung from chauvinist appeals for national unity against U.S. domination and against German rearmament to support for "Socialist" Premier Mollet and a bid to him for a Popular Front government. (The CP voted for Mollet when he was carrying on the war in Algeria.) Finally, the CP voted support for Premier Pflimlin on the eve of his handing power to de Gaulle.

The need to defeat de Gaulle's dictatorship — and the menace of fascism that lurks behind it — is as urgent as ever. The forces for the struggle can be mobilized, however, only on a socialist perspective.

Halt Nuclear Testing

Every nuclear test kills, says Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Laureate. Every year of testing causes 15,000 grossly defective children who would otherwise lead normal lives.

The responsibility for continued nuclear testing lies with the U.S. government, which began the lethal practice and blocked every attempt to effect an international ban. Judge then the hypocrisy of its outcry, when on Oct. 7, the Soviet government announced resumption of testing.

Last March the Soviet Union said it would not conduct any more nuclear tests unless the U.S. and Britain continued theirs. The U.S. and Britain paid no heed. They both held a series of tests in the summer and fall. Finally the Soviet Union announced it would resume tests and continue them until the Soviet score detected and a plan for a detection system Britain. (The present total is 44 for the Soviet Union, 20 for Britain and 112 for the U.S.)

Officials of the State Department replied the same day that the Soviet announcement "flaunts in the face of humanity the insincerity of their concern about pollution of the atmosphere with radioactive materials."

Certainly no one can accuse the United States and Britain of "insincerity." For neither power has shown the slightest concern about pollution of the atmosphere. The U.S. has never proposed an

immediate and universal end to nuclear tests. In fact it is now opposing current Soviet efforts to get such a resolution passed in the United Nations.

The United States insisted for a long time that a pledge not to test nuclear weapons would be worthless for it could be violated without detection. The Atomic Energy Commission released false information on one of its underground tests that would tend to substantiate this claim. The misinformation was discovered. Still the U.S. made no move to revise its opinion.

The argument of the impossibility of detecting tests was finally and fully refuted by the Geneva conference of scientists. They announced that tests could be detected and a plan for a detection system was worked out.

Even this did not move the U.S. and Britain to alter their test plans. The best the U.S. could come up with was an announcement by President Eisenhower that it would suspend its own tests for one year — after Oct. 31 when a scheduled series of U.S. tests would be completed.

A new conference between the U.S., Great Britain and the Soviet Union to negotiate for a test ban is now slated. It will have before it the standing Soviet proposal for an immediate cessation of tests, along with its stated readiness to accept the U.S.-British demand for inspection stations. The American people should insist the proposal be agreed to without further delay.

The Militant Across 30 Years

What Militant Said About Munich Pact

Twenty years ago at this time the world's press was filled with news and speculation about Munich. A summit meeting of the leaders of all Europe's great powers, except the Soviet Union, had just taken place there in the midst of a brink-of-war crisis. The participants at Munich were Nazi dictator Hitler, Fascist dictator Mussolini, Tory Prime Minister Chamberlain of Great Britain and Popular Front Premier Daladier of France. In secret talks they agreed to cut up Czechoslovakia for Hitler's benefit and then told the world that they had assured "peace in our time."

During the Munich crisis the Militant, then called Socialist Appeal, went on an emergency basis and published three times a week. The extra issues—two papers at a penny apiece—were sold by mobilizations of its supporters at street corners, factory gates and all radical meetings in the cities throughout the U.S. Here are some of the things we were saying in October 1938 about Munich.

A front-page editorial (Oct. 1), before the results of the Munich meeting had been made public carrying the title, **Fight Hitlerism by Revolution**, declared: "Every militant worker, every anti-fascist throughout the world stands solidly behind the Czech workers and peasants in their burning, noble desire to resist and smash Hitler. . . . But how? That is the crucial question. . . . To the Czech workers and peasants the revolutionists give another answer.



NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

Fight Hitler? Yes, yes: with all your power and strength and determination, with your hearts and lives. . . . Benes has betrayed you, and will betray you again; Chamberlain and Daladier can only betray you. The workers and peasants of Czechoslovakia can defend themselves against Hitler and Hitlerism only through a class war, a revolutionary war, in unalterable opposition to their own bourgeois government and every bourgeois government nation. . . ." (Oct. 1, 1938)

PACT MENACES USSR
Two days later, when the first details of the Munich Pact

were known, a streamer across the top of page one proclaimed: **Only the Workers of the World Can Defend the USSR**. Below an editorial stretching across the page was headed: **Pact Menaces Russia**. This editorial began:

"The 'democratic' and Fascist powers of Europe have struck a new bargain which, if it is carried out, will lead directly to a war against the Soviet Union."

"That is the meaning of what happened at Munich last Thursday. . . ."

"There can be no more room now for the fakers and frauds, the Stalinists and the labor skates, who have been telling the workers for years to put their faith in the 'democratic' nations to fight Fascism. . . ."

"What we have got to drive home now is the real collective security of the international working class — which lies in uniting the workers of all countries, 'democratic' and Fascist for the common struggle against their bosses. That is the way we'll get security from war. . . . That is the way we will save the Soviet Union, still the workers' fatherland despite Stalin. . . ." (Oct. 3, 1938)

Two days later the paper again featured a front-page editorial occupying half the page, entitled **After Munich—What Next?**, it assessed the effects of the infamous summit pact on the world working class movement and sketched perspectives for a counteroffensive.

" . . . France and Britain abdicated from control in Central

Europe and turned it over to Hitler. To Mussolini they made promises which have not yet come to light. In return they have agreed to negotiate all further issues in hopes of forming a bloc that will enable Germany to attack the Soviet Union with impunity. In this way they hope, for some time longer, to preserve the rotting capitalist system which is strangling Europe and the whole world."

STALIN'S POLICY COLLAPSES

The editorial also said: "For the Soviet Union the Munich Conference represented the complete collapse of its entire foreign policy, the complete collapse of the entire idea of 'collective security.' Let us be perfectly clear on this. Five years ago the Soviet Union decided to abandon even the pretense of proletarian internationalism in favor of supporting those bourgeois governments which agreed to make alliances with it against Fascist Germany. The result was the Franco-Soviet Pact, the Czech-Soviet Pact, the People's Front, and the abandonment of the attempt to guide the workers along the path of their own independent class struggle in opposition to their own boss governments."

"This same policy led to the stifling of the Spanish revolution, because the Soviet Union feared that the workers' revolution there would antagonize its 'allies' in Paris and London. . . ."

Turning in direct appeal to members of the American Communist Party the editorial listed reevaluations demanded by the Munich developments and said: "Above all those who are Communist Party members have to demand the right to raise these questions for free and open discussion in that party. . . ."

"You've got to stop and think and be honest with yourselves. You've got to get back on the rails that lead towards the workers' power, towards the revolutionary struggle. . . ." (Oct. 5, 1938)

TROTSKY PREDICTS PACT

In the next issue was an article entitled: "Trotsky Predicts Stalin Will Now Seek an Un-

derstanding with Hitler." This was the first forecast anywhere in the press in any country of the Stalin-Hitler Pact which would burst on the world like a bombshell eleven months later and would signal the immediate outbreak of World War II.

Trotsky's article of Oct. 8, 1938, said in part:

"The collapse of Czechoslovakia is the collapse of Stalin's foreign policy of the last five years. Moscow's idea of an 'alliance of democracies' for a struggle against fascism is a lifeless fiction. No one wants to fight for the sake of an abstract principle of democracy: all are fighting for material interests. England and France prefer to satisfy the appetites of Hitler at the expense of Austria and Czechoslovakia rather than at the expense of their colonies."

"The military alliance between France and the USSR from now on loses 75% of its value and can easily lose the 100%. Mussolini's old idea of a four-power pact of European powers, under the baton of Italy and Germany, has become a reality, at least until a new crisis."

"The terrific blow at the international position of the USSR is the pay-off for the continuous bloody purge which beheaded the army, disrupted the economy and revealed the weakness of the Stalinist regime. The source of the defeatist policy rests in the Kremlin. We may now expect with certainty Soviet diplomacy to attempt rapprochement with Hitler at the expense of new retreats and capitulations which in their turn can only bring nearer the collapse of the Stalinist oligarchy."

"The compromise over the corpse of Czechoslovakia does not guarantee peace in the least but only creates a more favorable basis for Hitler in the coming war. Chamberlain's flights in the sky enter into history as a symbol of those diplomatic convulsions which divided, greedy, and impotent imperialist Europe passed through on the eve of the new slaughter which is about to drench our whole planet in blood."

... 'Open Door' Is Shut

(Continued from Page 1)

believed their interests would be best served if their superior economic resources were free to penetrate all parts of China's territory unhindered. Carving China into separate political entities, they feared, would impede the flow of British and American capital.

To meet the threat, the British proposed, and U.S. Secretary of State John Hay in 1899 enunciated, the "Open Door Policy." Ostensibly, this policy held that China should be preserved as an independent state, and that all nations should be free to trade with her on equal terms. But the independence of China was sorely limited so long as foreign powers controlled her ports, foreigners ran her customs service and dictated tariff rates, aliens set up their own courts in the "sovereign" country, and European and American bankers held a stranglehold on every important Chinese enterprise.

The American government did not propose disturbing this system of bloodsucking in any way. Secretary of State Hay assured the other imperialist powers that the doctrine "will in no wise interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called 'sphere of interest' or leased territory it may have in China." The Open Door Policy merely provided that the commerce of all nations be permitted to pass through Chinese ports controlled by foreign powers without extra custom duties or shipping charges. In other words, the U.S. government told the other imperialists: keep your concessions and privileges in China, but don't discriminate against American commerce.

It is important to note that the "independent" government of China was not consulted in the formulation of the Open Door Policy, nor was it invited to be a signatory to the pact.

Just how much the U.S. really cared about the territorial integrity of China was revealed in 1902 when Hay, the propounder of the Open Door Doctrine, wrote President Roosevelt concerning the threat of a Russian takeover in Manchuria. "What we have been working for two years to accomplish," he said ". . . is that, no matter what happens eventually in northern China and Manchuria, the United States shall not be placed in any worse position than while the country was under the unquestioned dominion of China." Meaning: It's all right to grab parts of China so long as American profits are not threatened.

Similarly, when Japan planned to annex the independent state of Korea in 1905, President Roosevelt wrote Hay, "We cannot possibly interfere for the Koreans against Japan." The U.S., in fact, had already signed the secret Taft-Katsura agreement acquiescing in Japan's dominion over Korea, "provided that such measures are not contrary to the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations."

It was only when the Japa-



This picture was taken as 50,000 Chinese demonstrated against Chiang Kai-shek in 1946. The Chinese dictator had the backing of the American government, but that did not prevent the aroused Chinese masses from throwing him out of the country.

nese in the 1930's began threatening Wall Street's interests that the menace of Japanese militarism was discovered. U.S. imperialism fought World War II in the Pacific to "save" China for American exploitation.

In the same manner, the U.S. government showed little interest in the development of democracy in China. Like the other powers, the U.S. preferred a weak central government that could be bullied and controlled. When sporadic rebellions broke out to overthrow feudalism and end foreign domination, American armed forces joined the armies of the other powers to crush the mass movements.

When in 1911, the revolutionary movement under Sun Yat Sen overthrew the Manchu Dynasty and instituted the Republic, the U.S. Government did all in its power to undermine the authority of the new regime. It weakened the authority of the central government and encouraged the rise of local war lords who operated as sovereign rulers in their domains. The only stipulation imposed on these local semi-feudal rulers was that they not disturb foreign economic interests.

It was only when Chiang Kai-shek established his loyalty to the foreign bankers by massacring 40,000 workers in Shanghai during the 1925-27 revolution that the imperialists felt they had a central government in China they again could control.

However, Chiang's dictatorship could not hold the Chinese masses in check forever. During the war against Japan, Communist Party — led troops scored impressive victories and brought large areas of the country under their control. The U.S. government, through Gen. George Marshall and with Stalin's cooperation, tried to bring the CP leaders of this mass movement into a coalition with Chiang. The CP leaders at first assented, but it

was too late. The Chinese masses pushed the CP into struggle against Chiang and forced him to flee to Taiwan with but 600,000 of his troops. With him went the system of special concessions, treaty ports, foreign troops, bankers' consortiums and foreign dictation. The Chinese were finally masters in their own house.

Wall Street has "lost China." It is stuck with its puppet on a few little islands on China's front door. But American Big Businessmen are determined to get back in — and on as close to the old terms as possible.

The only question is: Will the Chinese people let them back in? And are the American people willing to fight to restore Big Business profit-making in China?

Calendar Of Events

BROOKLYN

Hear Capt. Hugh Mulzac, Annette Rubinstein and others at a Symposium-Rally, sponsored by Kings County ISP on "Independent Working-Class Politics in 1958 Elections." Audience participation. Sun., Oct. 12, 8 P.M., Sunrise Manor, 1638 Pitkin Ave., B'klyn (bet. Bristol and Hopkinson) New Lots IRT to Saratoga, or Pitkin Ave. bus to Hopkinson. Cont. 50 cents.

CHICAGO

Socialists Face the Nov. Elections (Symposium and floor discussion)

REV. WILLIAM T. BAIRD, Progressive Party 1952 Illinois Committee member, REV. JOSEPH P. KING, Candidate U.S. Congress, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Communist Party, HOWARD MAYHEW, Socialist Workers Party.

Friday, Oct. 24, Room 812, Fine Arts Bldg., 410 S. Michigan.

... Racist Dynamiting

(Continued from Page 1)

file supporting briefs in these NAACP-instituted actions.

FAUBUS STANDS PAT

Despite the blow dealt by the courts to their plan to circumvent desegregation by shutting the public schools and then reopening them under the label "private," neither Gov. Faubus nor Gov. Almond of Virginia have made any moves to reopen the closed schools on an integrated basis. The "Little Rock Private Schools Corporation" continues in existence and is soliciting funds for the purpose of opening private schools in private buildings.

Only in Charlottesville, Virginia, where two public schools are closed have any such volunteer private, segregated schools actually been set up. How adequate they are is not clear. In Norfolk, where six schools with an enrollment of about 10,000 students are closed, the Tidewater Educational Foundation (the counterpart of Faubus' Little Rock Private Schools Corporation) announced it was suspending operations. Its aim had been to set up a "private, segregated school system" to replace the closed public schools. It had promised schooling at a fee of \$20 per student. Though it claimed that 2,630 children had been registered with it, it had actually received only \$450 in fees.

Faubus' "private" school set-up also has received very little money from the public in Little Rock. It now refuses to state just how much has been donated, but no one believes that it can get from Little Rock parents the \$19,000 required weekly to operate private high schools.

Because it is expected that the federal courts will knock down any attempts to divert public funds to these "private" schools or as subsidies to parents for the "private" schooling of their children, most advocates of desegregation are un-critical of the administration's policy of outwitting Faubus and Almond. They feel that in such a waiting game pressure from white parents, who value their children's education more than the empty shibboleths of racism, will eventually put enough pressure on the state officials to force the reopening of the schools on an integrated basis.

While the present situation may work out that way if all other things are equal, it involves a gamble. For all other

factors do not necessarily remain equal or constant. The dynamiting at Clinton shows that violence may be resorted to—which, if managed cleverly by Faubus and Almond, might resolidify the crumbling unity of the white population of the affected Southern cities on an anti-Negro basis.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

But there are other considerations. Why should the children, Negro and white, be deprived of schooling for as long as Faubus and Almond choose to hold out? What if these racist officials should deliberately decide to ignore all pressure from the few thousands of white parents affected by the school closings in hope of re-unaffected areas of their states, and actually keep the four schools in Little Rock and the nine in Virginia closed all year?

Or what if Faubus and Almond should find some way of getting the large sums of money needed to operate private schools in place of those closed? Though remote, this is not impossible. Remember the Texas oil millionaire who a few years ago gave a million dollars for a segregated college? With the resources of the manifold and lucrative contracts let by state governments and, possibly oil-drilling rights on state property in Arkansas at his disposal, it is not impossible that by "gentlemen's agreement" Faubus could arrange for a "donation" of the approximately \$750,000 required to operate private high schools in Little Rock for a year.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

The Eisenhower administration's policy, limited to court action to prevent Faubus from camouflaging the public schools as "private," implies that private segregated schools operating without state funds would be legal.

What must be demanded is that the federal government itself take over the closed public schools and operate them on an integrated basis until the local authorities are willing to carry on. If this cannot be done by executive action alone, then Eisenhower should summon Congress back into an emergency session to pass appropriate legislation. We are just a month from election day. It would be an excellent time to get a showdown on which of the candidates are for public education and enforcement of the Supreme Court desegregation decision.

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Industrial Psychology

By Joyce Cowley

I have just learned that industrial psychology is not, as some of us may have naively assumed, a testing service to determine what kind of job a worker fits into best. Judging from recent statements by two industrial psychologists, its purpose is to create a congenial social atmosphere in the plant. It teaches foremen how to get along with management at the same time that it attempts to put employer-employee relationships in such a happy basis that the workers won't want a union. Incidentally, it's a handy way for the boss to pick up pertinent information.

In Johannesburg, South Africa, Dr. John Woolfson told a National Development Foundation school session for managers and sub-managers that foremen should not be chosen just because they are the best workmen. What a foreman needs is social ability much more than technical skill. This may puzzle some of you who have never been aware of the foreman's social gifts, but Dr. Woolfson means ability to get along with the boss, not the workers.

"You're no good as a foreman if you think the manager is a fool. You're no good as a manager if you think the managing director is an idiot."

Suppose, he was asked, the managing director is an idiot? His advice, which would hardly seem to require the expensive services of a psychologist, was to put up with it or get out.

Dr. Harry Levinson of Kansas (the two men are thousands of miles apart but their language sounds similar) warned employers that it is not enough to use the analyses of industrial psychologists to "smooth over bad situations." He hinted that the workers are not so easily bought off. Many managements err, he said, in thinking that they can head off union organization by providing fringe benefits beyond what a union might ask — but one way or another, hostile feelings will come out.

He suggests that the industrial psychologist teach the employer in the way that the psychologist in the clinic helps the father see his role in respect to his children. "He should get out of his office and among his men where he can listen, hear and accept hostility."

Few workers will think there is any resemblance between a boss and a father, pos-

sibly because life in the average family, with all its shortcomings, is not characterized by the same forms of exploitation and disregard for the individual that exist in industry. Children are not usually turned out of the house if the father meets financial reverses. A child's sickness does not terminate a father's obligation to provide for him. Most fathers don't constantly seek new ways to speed up and profit from the labor performed by their children.

I am intrigued by the idea of the boss hanging around the machines or the assembly line so that he can "hear and accept hostility." I assume he will be disguised. There's usually plenty to hear when workers are talking about their employer, but with him standing around and listening, it may become subdued. (I once worked for a large company that hired a psychologist to find out why there was such a heavy turnover in office personnel. Investigators went from desk to desk asking — usually within earshot of the boss — "Are you happy here?" Practically everyone said yes, so the company never did learn why so many happy people terminated their employment.)

Dr. Levinson concluded by giving psychologists a warning, too. He said they should "guard against violating the privacy of clients by seeing that clinical techniques to test personnel are not used later for purposes unrelated to the test." A psychologist who does use test material for unrelated purposes might argue that the client is the employer, not the workers, and he always respects the boss' privacy. "Failure to reach policies more sound than those which are presently being employed," Dr. Levinson continued, "will bring down upon the heads of the psychologists the same appellations which for a long time were thrown at industrial physicians who, because they were regarded as company spies, became anathema to employees."

The doctor must have been doing some listening, too. In any case, it's obvious that the workers have not been taken in by these new "clinical techniques." They know that a spy by any other name smells just the same and that a few paternalistic concessions are no substitute for a union contract. In other words, one way or another their well-founded hostility does come out.

Letters from Our Readers

News Forecast

Editor:
The following is a possible News Forecast for October 1958.

Oct. 15: An artillery shell from the Chinese mainland accidentally sank a ship of the Seventh Fleet, and the Americans retaliated by bombing the mainland of China.

Oct. 16: The Communists retaliated for the attack on the mainland of Asia by sinking the Seventh Fleet and by destroying all U.S. bases in the Far East with flying missiles, submarines and land-based planes.

Oct. 17: The first H-bombs fell when Western Europe launched a reprisal attack against the Communists for the destruction of American ships and bases in the Far East.

Oct. 18: As of this date, the slain number nearly two billion, after the Communists launched a counter-attack with H-bombs against the United States and all its allies in the western world.

Oct. 19: The entire population of the world is exterminated. Nobody is left to grieve or to bury the dead. The earth, the sun, the moon and the stars keep moving serenely in the heavens in perfect co-ordination minus the human race. These celestial travelers never knew about mankind and don't care what has become of it.

It is up to mankind to save itself — if it can.

D. E. Chicago

America's Future

Editor:
During the Hoover depression, Roosevelt came into office and told the American people that all we had to fear was fear alone. But Roosevelt lied. There was more to fear than fear, for America had lost the economic impulse. For this same reason it was that Ancient Greece died and Rome fell.

Roosevelt restored the economic impulse of profits by creating wealth with the printing presses. For eight years he printed the bonds at the rate of three billion dollars a year.

This was enough to let the banks get interest on their money but it was not enough to let industry make profits, nor to put the men back to work. During the war the bonds were printed at the rate of fifty billion dollars a year. This was heavy enough to let some of the money trickle down to the workers after the banks had gotten their interest and the corporations made their profits.

Roosevelt primed the pump, but the well was dry. Then he primed it so heavy that some of the priming spilled over into the well. For many years now America has been living off the priming that spilled over into the well. Once again now the well is going dry and once again now the government is printing more bonds so that the banks can get interest and industry make some profits.

Socialist workers everywhere, take heart and courage and redouble your efforts to organize. It took Greece and Rome two hundred years to die the slow death of deflation, but American capitalism must print the bonds and will die the quick death of inflation. . . . When the fires of inflation have burned out, then it is time for Socialism to flower. America must and will turn from competition to cooperation.

F. O. Paola, Kansas

Letter To People's World

Editor:
Enclosed is a copy of a letter I mailed to the San Francisco office of the People's World.

Editor, People's World:
It has come to my attention that Terry Pettus, Editor of the Northwest edition of People's World has been summarily dismissed from the staff of your paper. I have known Terry for the past several years and consider him an honest, sincere and courageous man, one who always had the interests of his paper at heart. I have had many political differences with him and do not endorse all his views, but they are his views and he has always had the honesty and courage to state them as he saw them.

In the March 15 edition of the PW he wrote an article that in effect said that I had "sold my union a pig in a poke" and deceived the members of my union when they endorsed me in the City Council race. Well, I would argue with him about this point and so would the majority of my union brothers. But this is what Terry thought and so that is what he said. I am a firm believer in the freedom of thought and the freedom of the press, and never have taken the position that I was above criticism.

The PW never printed my answer to this allegation. I do not blame Terry for this as I know he would have printed it if he could have got it past the San Francisco editors. This

senseless firing of Terry Pettus from the paper angers and disgusts me and I wish to cancel my subscription to the PW until such time as the paper can see fit to print OBJECTIVE TRUTH as it happens and not as the editorial policy of the paper dictates, and Terry Pettus has been restored to his former position.

Jack Wright
Seattle

Pulling Our Leg?

Editor:
Let me begin by saying that I am not one of those who accepts as gospel all the wide ranging accusations made against the Socialist Workers Party. However, I am deeply concerned over the influence this sectarian organization has gained over some good people in the progressive movement. Therefore I find it necessary to expose the consistently sectarian policy of the SWP in order that we may draw the appropriate lessons thereby.

(1) During the second world war, the SWP took a position in opposition to what they characterized as an "imperialist" war.

(2) Flowing from this position, they followed a policy of opposing the "no strike pledge" and of supporting certain irresponsible "leaders" of the Negro people in their demands for fair employment practices, etc.

(3) Following the victory of democracy, the SWP further betrayed its sectarian nature by not joining in with the mainstream of the labor movement in support of the police action in Korea.

(4) They continued to isolate themselves by defending the "atomic spies" Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in the face of the clear position taken by the mainstream of the labor movement.

(5) And to top it off, they stick themselves way out in left field by defending the leaders of the Communist Party when the latter were prosecuted under the Smith Act.

(6) All through this period they of course maintained their sectarian "purity" in the annual elections, running independently, when they should have been busy getting into the mainstream policy of rewarding our friends in the Democratic party and punishing our enemies in the Republican party.

(7) Now we have the sectarian move par excellence. Just when the progressives face the triple threat of war-depression - white chauvinism, and consequently the need for maximum unity in the mainstream of the labor movement, these incorrigible sectarians have managed to pull off into isolation with them some very good people, endangering the unity of the working-class movement.

The SWP record speaks for itself.

A. Harriman
New York

Peterson Challenges Opponents

PHILADELPHIA — Ethel Peterson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania, has challenged her Democratic and Republican opponents to public debate on the central issues in the campaign.

In identical letters to Governor George Leader, Democratic candidate, and Rep. Hugh Scott, Republican candidate, she said: "The presence of U.S. armed forces in the Taiwan straits and Mideast and the resulting threat of world nuclear war, must be discussed before the voting public. My party demands the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from foreign soil. Your stand is the opposite."

"Another question — when have either of you put the weight of your position in government behind a clear and forceful program for federal enforcement of full integration in the schools of our country? With bi-partisan cooperation, the government sends its military forces all over the globe, presumably to defend freedom and democracy. Why have both your parties failed so completely to defend the rights of Negro school children at home?"

"I ask you, Mr. Scott, what will you do about President Eisenhower's statement of personal preference for a slow-down in integration? And I ask you, Mr. Leader, what you intend to do about the plea of Alabama's Senator Sparkman to Southern Democrats to remain loyal to your national party leadership as a means of preserving racial segregation in the schools? Let us hear your reply in public debate."

UNEMPLOYMENT
"Finally, unemployment remains a major tragic problem for Pennsylvania and the nation. It is not enough to bemoan the plight of millions of jobless. I challenge you to present a more realistic and practical program to provide jobs than the one put forward by the Socialist Workers Party."

"The overriding question implicit in all of these issues is that of who shall govern in America — Capitol or Labor? A debate on the issue of capitalism versus socialism as the ultimate solution of the great problems before us would create more widespread interest and genuine participation in the election than we have yet seen."

Interview With Socialist Farm Candidate

(The following is an interview with Louis Shoemaker, Workers Party candidate for Penn. Secretary of Internal Affairs, by Arthur Phelps, a campaign worker. — Ed.)

Q. As a working farmer, would you tell us something of the problems that you and others like you are facing?

A. In a nut shell, the working farmer is concerned with holding on to a piece of land from which he can make a livelihood. This problem is made difficult for several reasons. The large farms and processing syndicates squeeze us out of the produce market. The large farms can use modern equipment, but in order for us to get modern equipment, we have to put our farms in hock for years to come. The processing syndicates "offer" to buy our crops at a price that hardly makes it worth while to pay for harvesting. And then the same syndicates will force the consumer to pay outrageous prices for these same crops.

Q. Could you give us an example?

A. Yes. One example is milk. The State has made a regulation that another step must be added to the processing of milk. This step involves an enormous investment for us small farmers. For us to sell our milk, we must have it processed. And that's where the big processing outfits come in. They are "willing to take our milk off our hands" — at starvation prices. But look at the prices they charge you consumers!

Another problem is the growth of the big supermarket chains which control factory farms for their own channels of distribution. Naturally, this puts the squeeze on the small working farmer. They not only can



LOUIS SHOEMAKER, candidate for State Secretary of Internal Affairs, operates his own farm in Perkaskie. A veteran of the socialist movement, he is familiar with both farm and labor problems.

afford to mechanize, but they also get big subsidies through their lobbies which have powerful connections with both the Republicans and Democrats. So they get their produce at a minimum of cost and still sell it to the consumer at top prices.

Q. How do you feel about government subsidies to farmers paid on the basis of restricting crops?

A. I don't think farmers should be subsidized for not planting crops or for ploughing under crops. I do think the small working farmer should get government help against the squeeze of the big factory farms. And I think the government should take steps to bring down the artificially-inflated high prices brought about by the factory farms, the speculators and the big food chains and processors.

Q. But what would be done with our farm surplus?

A. Well, I certainly wouldn't say that everyone, even in America, had enough to eat. You may have heard of the book, *Geography of Hunger*, by Gasset y Ortega. It's pretty hard to justify the ploughing under of crops and storage of crops until they waste away, when millions in our country are on a starvation diet, as that book proves.

But suppose our country isn't hungry — are we to forget the rest of the world? Why, in some parts of the globe you can't even speak of a "standard of living" because anything less would not support life. And if our government were really a "peace-loving democracy," it could trade with China and other countries that need food. I'm sure we could use some of the products made in China.

Q. What about the plight of migrant workers and other farm workers? Could you tell me something about this?

A. Yes. Since I got into this campaign I've been making an extra effort to dig up the facts on this. And my thanks go in particular to the National Sharecroppers Fund which is doing a wonderful job of making such information available to the public.

I have a clipping here from the Aug. 14 New York Times with a letter from Fay Bennett, executive secretary of the Sharecroppers Fund. She reports that the U.S. Department of Labor has set a piece-rate of 50 cents an hour as a fair wage to be earned by sharecroppers, if they "apply themselves diligently."

Miss Bennett points out, "This can only mean that the Labor Department does not in-

tend that the farm workers families should receive a living wage." She asks this question: "How long will the American public, the United States Congress, the labor movement, allow this caste system to exist, dooming several million Americans to live on a near-animal level, while continuing a semi-feudal arrangement of worker-employer relations on the large farms?"

Q. How would you go about solving the problems of working farmers and farm laborers?

A. Well, first, working farmers must start organizing along economic and political lines. They should constitute themselves into district, state and national bodies, with delegates representing their own interests. They should renounce support to the Republicans and Democrats, who have shown themselves unable to cope with the problems of the working farmer and who are unwilling to break their ties with the big interests that hold both the working farmer and farm laborer by the throat.

I agree with Fay Bennett of the Sharecroppers Fund that the labor movement must do something about the plight of the migrant worker. The obvious solution is to organize them. But just as the AFL-CIO seems to be ignoring the problem of organizing the South, or organizing the white-collar worker, they seem to be giving even less attention to organizing the farm workers.

RECESSION CASUALTIES

One in every four families has felt the impact of the current recession through unemployment or shortened work-weeks, a nationwide study of joblessness shows.

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Penna. Socialist Ticket Fights on Issues

For U.S. Senator

For Governor

For Lt. Governor



ETHEL PETERSON, a Philadelphia bookkeeper, has been an active socialist since her early youth. Originally from Wisconsin, she was a charter member of the Socialist Workers Party in Milwaukee.



HERBERT LEWIN, a long-time member of the United Electrical Workers (ind.), is a veteran of militant strike struggles. He has represented the Socialist Workers Party in previous Pennsylvania elections.



ELOISE FICKLAND has been an active member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union for many years. She sees her union activity as an inseparable part of her life-long fight for civil rights.

Lewin Calls For Building Labor Party

By Herbert Lewin
Workers Party Candidate
For Governor of Pennsylvania

At every election time, campaigns are conducted to impress the citizens with the importance of voting and of voting intelligently. The many organizations engaged in this activity often say, "One should not vote the party but the candidate."

The unions have for years set up political action committees, at one time PAC, now COPE. Union members are asked to contribute a dollar and are then given a membership card or receipt. This is the extent of their activities until they are told whom to vote for—that is, who is their "friend" of the two candidates running. (I say of the two candidates, because the Pennsylvania state labor bodies did not even have the courtesy to send me or my running mates the questionnaire they sent to the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties. The League of Women Voters and other groups have been principled enough to ask all candidates for their opinions and background.) When elected the "friend" turns out to be an enemy.

We have a sign in our shop that says, "Quality Must Be Built into a Product. It Cannot Be Put in by Inspection." I go along with that slogan. We cannot inspect candidates into doing the job for us. What we need is a Labor Party.

How would a Labor Party be set up? Who would control it? Here is a brief sketch of one way I think it will be brought into being.

(1) Union-local, shop, or neighborhood Labor Party clubs, will be formed. There will be an initiation fee so as to clearly define membership.

(2) The unions will endorse the party.

(3) The members will work out the program.

(4) Delegates would be elected to regional and national conventions on the basis of program. That is, you would vote for and support a delegate who would fight for what you wish to become the program of the party.

(5) The majority of the delegates at the national conventions would determine program for the Labor Party and also nominate national candidates. Regional and local conferences would determine program on local issues and nominate local candidates.

PROGRAM DECIDES

In this way you would have the possibility of a "quality" vote. You would have built it into the product. You would have a candidate dedicated to a program which you participated in developing. The candidate would report back to you on his or her activities and ask for further instruction. If need be, a candidate could be reprimanded or withdrawn by his Labor Party club.

I feel that this is a main issue in this election. A strong vote for the Workers Party in Pennsylvania this November will demonstrate a desire for the formation of a broad party of labor. A strong vote for the Workers Party will give notice to the two old parties that we are fed up with their shill game. A strong vote for the Workers Party will tell the labor bureaucrats that workers want a new look at politics, that they want their own political party, one that they can build and direct.

About the Workers Party

The Workers Party is the Pennsylvania ballot designation of the Socialist Workers Party. Election regulations prevent the SWP from using its name on the ballot.

For further information about the Socialist Workers Party and its candidates, visit our campaign headquarters at 1303 W. Girard Ave. or write.

Negroes On the March

A Frenchman's Report of the American Negro Struggle

By Daniel Guerin

Negroes on the March is based on years of painstaking research and first-hand observation of the American scene. Translated from the French edition, it has been revised by the author to cover recent events; he has also written a new introduction for the American reader. \$2.00—cloth paper—\$1.50

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